

SĔLĔSĪLAH

(BOOK OF THE DESCENT)

OF THE
RAJAS OF BRUNI.

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This is the history of the Rajas who have sat upon the throne of Bruni⁽¹⁾ —*Dar ul Salām* (city of peace)—according to their generations, to whom descended the *nobat nagāra* (royal drum) and *gunta alāmat* (the bells, an emblem) from Johor—*Kemal ul Mekam* (the royal place): they also received the *nobat nagāra* from the country of Menangkabau, that is to say, Andalas and Saguntang.

The first ⁽²⁾ who held the sovereignty in the city of Bruni, and who introduced the Mahomedan religion and observed the institutions of the prophet MAHOMED, on whom be peace, was the Paduka Sri Sultan MAHOMED. (See Note I.)

Before his time the country of Bruni was Kâfir (gentile) and a dependency of Mĕnjapahit, ⁽³⁾ but at the time of the death of the Batāra

(1) The name of this kingdom and city is always written "Bruni" by the Natives, but it is called indifferently "Bruni" and "Brunei."

(2) The first date in Bruni history which can be trusted is A. H. 1072, being that of the death of Sultan MAHOMET ALI, who was the twelfth Mahomedan Sultan. From the establishment of Johor in 1512 to the year 1810, CRAWFORD says, fourteen Princes reigned, giving an average of twenty-one years to each reign: a similar average for each Sultan of Bruni would make the religion of ISLAM to have been introduced, and the dynasty to have been established, about the year 1403, but it was probably somewhat earlier, as several of the Sultans of this period appear to have had long reigns.

(3) The Hindu kingdom of Mĕnjapahit was destroyed by the Mahomedans in A. D. 1473. Bruni is mentioned in the history of Java as one of the countries conquered by ADAYA MINGRAT, the General of ANGKA WIJAYA, the last king.

of Mĕnjapahit and of the Wazir (Minister) PATEH GAJAH MADA (*) and the destruction of the country of Mĕnjapahit which ensued, Bruni ceased to send the tribute of a jar of the young *Pinang* fruit (green betel nut).

In the reign of Sultan BAHKEI, (5) of the kingdom of Johor, he summoned the Tuan ALAH BERTATAR and PATEH BERBI to Johor, and, when they arrived there, they were invested as Sultan MAHOMED by the Yang di Pertuan of Johor, and he gave them the *nobat nagára* and *gunta alámat*, and five countries—Kalâkah, Seribas, Sadong, Semerâhan, and Sarâwak—PATEH BERBI being appointed Bĕndahâra Sri Maharaja.

After having remained some time in Johor, His Majesty the Sultan MAHOMED returned to Bruni. He had no sons and only one daughter.

Before this (see Note II.) the Emperor of China had sent two of his officers, named WANG KONG and ONG SUM PING, to get the *gemâla* (jewel) of the Dragon, which lived on the China Balu. A great number of the Chinese were lost, being eaten by the Dragon, which retained its jewel, and thus the mountain was called China Balu. But ONG SUM PING conceived a device for deceiving the Dragon; he put a candle in a glass case, and, while the Dragon was out feeding, he took the jewel, putting the candle in its place, the Dragon thinking his *gemâla* still safe. The treasure having been thus obtained, all the junks set sail to return to their country, and when they had got some distance from the mountain, WANG KONG demanded the jewel from ONG SUM PING, and they quarrelled, but WANG KONG insisted on the surrender of the jewel, so that ONG SUM PING was angry and would not return to China, but turned back and sailed to Bruni, and, having arrived there, he married the Princess, the daughter of the Sultan MAHOMED (see Note III.), and the Sultan gave over the sovereignty to his son-in-law Sultan AKHMED.

(4) GAJAH MADA was the Minister of ANGKA WIJAYA. PATEH BERBI, in another version of the Selesilah, which was given to me by Pangiran KASUMA, is represented as the brother of Sultan MAHOMED.

(5) Johor was not established as a kingdom at the time of these events, and the Sultan mentioned must have reigned in Malacca, which was taken by the Portuguese in 1500, Johor being established the following year.

Sultan AKHMED also had a daughter, who was of exceeding beauty, and a Sheriff named ALI, of the line of AMĪR-AL-HASAN, came from the country of Taif and passed into Bruni. Having heard of the great beauty of the Princess, he became enamoured of her, and the Sultan accepted him for his son-in-law, and gave him the sovereignty of the kingdom. He was called Sultan BĒRKAT, and he enforced the laws of the prophet, and built a mosque in the city of Bruni, and by the aid of his Chinese subjects he erected the *Kota Batu* (stone wall). (see Note IV.).

The Sultan BĒRKAT had a son—the Sultan SULEIMAN—who was the father ⁽⁶⁾ of the Sultan BULKEIAH, (see Note V.) who was the Raja who conquered the kingdom of Soolook and made a dependency of the country of Sĕlurong, ⁽⁷⁾ the Raja of which was called DATOH GAMBAN. Sultan BULKEIAH ⁽⁸⁾ had a son, who was the Sultan ABDUL KAHAR; he is known as the Mĕrhoun Krĕmat, ⁽⁹⁾ and was the father of the Sultan SAIF-UL-REJAL.

SAIF-UL-REJAL ⁽¹⁰⁾ was the father of the Sultan SHAH BRUNI, ⁽¹¹⁾ and when he died the kingdom descended to his brother Sultan HASAN.

(6) It is probable that Nakoda RAGAM, Sultan BULKEIAH, carried on his career of travel and conquest during the lifetime of his father, Sultan SULEIMAN. When MAGELLAN'S Squadron was at the mouth of the Bruni river, A. D. 1521, a fleet returned to Bruni from the conquest of a place called Lawi, which was on the East coast of Borneo. This fleet was commanded by the son of the King of Luzon, who was the Captain-General of the King of Bruni. This statement of PIGAFETTA'S confirms the Brunian narrative.

(7) Selurong is said by Brunian tradition to be in the island of Luzon and the site of the present town of Manila.

(8) It was probably towards the end of the reign of Sultan BULKEIAH that the ships of MAGELLAN, after his death at Mactan, touched, in August, 1521, at Bruni, where they found a magnificent court.

(9) He was called Merhoun Kramat, from having appeared, after death, on horseback at the head of the forces of Bruni to repel the Castilians during their attack on Bruni. His tomb on the hill above Kota Batu was destroyed by the Spanish shot.

(10) It seems probable that it was in the reign of this Sultan SAIF-UL-REJAL, that Bruni was attacked by the Spaniards, A. D. 1577, but the history is contradictory on this point, in one place assigning the first attack to the time of his father Sultan ABDUL KAHAR. The second attack by the Spaniards took place in 1580.

(11) Sultan SHAH BRUNI is said to have been a great encourager of manufactures in brass. It was during his reign that the magnificent brass cannon taken away by Sir THOMAS COCHRANE in 1846 were founded.

Sultan HASAN (see Note VI.), who was called the Mĕrhoun di Tanjong, was very powerful in his kingdom and conquered all the Bajau countries and the Batĕra of Soolook. He was the father of the Sultan JALIL-UL-AKBAR, who is known as Mĕrhoun Tuah, and who was the father of the Sultan ABDUL JALIL-UL-JEBAR, and when he died, he was succeeded by the brother of His Majesty's father, Sultan MAHOMET ALI, from whom the sovereignty was snatched away by Bĕndahĕra ABDUL.

Sultan MAHOMET ALI (¹²) is called Mĕrhoun Tumbang di Rumput, and, on his death, the throne was occupied by Sultan ABDUL MUBIN. He was succeeded by the nephew of Sultan MAHOMET ALI, who reigned as Sultan MUADDIN (¹³), who carried on the war against the island (¹⁴), and recovered the royalty from the Sultan ABDUL MUBIN. He is known as Mĕrhoun Bongsu: when he died he was succeeded by the son of his brother, who was named Sultan NASR-ADDIN. After his death he was succeeded by his father's cousin (*aya sa papa*) named Sultan KEMAL-ADDIN, (¹⁵) who was the son of Sultan MAHOMET ALI: he is the Mĕrhoun di Lobah, and was twice sovereign. His Majesty resigned the throne to his relative (*chuchu sa pupu*) Sultan MAHOMED ALI-UDDIN, (¹⁶) who was the father of the Sultan MAHOMED TEJ-WALDIN, (¹⁷) who was the father of the Sultan JEMAL-UL-ALAM.

(12) This sovereign, Merhoun Tumbang di Rumput, was a younger son of Sultan HASAN and consequently uncle to his predecessor JALIL-UL-JEBAR.

(13) Pronounced MUADDIN in Bruni. He was married to his cousin the daughter of Sultan MAHOMET ALI; he was himself a son of Merhoun Tuah, so that he was a grandson of Sultan HASAN, and his wife a granddaughter of the same King.

(14) Pulau Chermin, where the usurper Sultan ABDUL MUBIN established himself. ABDUL MUBIN is not mentioned in the genealogical list of Sultans carved on the historic tablet by order of Sultan MAHOMED TAJ-UDDIN.

(15) Sultan KEMAL-ADDIN was one of the sons of Merhoun Tumbang di Rumput, and was named HUSEIN; he with his brother HASAN, the elder of the two, were quite young at the time of the massacre and were protected by their brother-in-law the Bendahara BONGSU, who afterwards became Sultan MUADDIN.

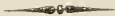
(16) Sultan MAHOMED ALI-UDDIN was the son of the Pangiran di Gedong SHAH BUBIN, who was the son of Sultan MUADDIN by his wife, the daughter of the Sultan MAHOMET ALI. After his death, his father-in-law KEMAL-ADDIN again assumed the royalty.

(17) Sultan MAHOMED TEJ-WALDIN resigned the throne in favour of his son MAHOMED JEMAL-UL-ALAM, who having died after a reign of from six to nine months, his father re-ascended the throne.

When he died the throne was occupied by the Sultan MAHOMED KHAN ZUL-ALAM, (¹⁸) whose son was the Sultan MAHOMED ALAM, (¹⁹) who had waged war with the chief Měntri ABDUL HAK of Buong Pinggi, who rebelled against His Majesty. The grave of this Sultan is at Pulau Chermin. After his death he was succeeded by the Sultan OMAR ALI SAIF II., who is now reigning, and who is the son of the Sultan MAHOMED JEMAL-UL-ALAM.

(18) Sultan MAHOMED KHAN ZUL-ALAM was a son of Sultan OMAR ALI SAIF-
UDDIN.

(19) This was a madman of the cruelest propensities, who would have set
aside MAHOMED ALI SAIF-UDDIN.



NOTES.

I.

Sultan MAHOMED.—The tradition preserved in Bruni, as related to me by the Pangîran KASUMA, is that the Bruni Rajas are descended from three sources :—

(1°) from AWANG ALAK BER TABAR, who governed the country before the introduction of the religion of Islam; (2°) from Johor (Malacca?), a lady of that royal family having been forcibly brought to Bruni before the people were Mahomedans; (3°) from the Arabian Prophet: ALAK BER TABAR was converted to Islam and became Sultan MAHOMED. The Chinese element seems to be omitted in the above enumeration of the sources of origin of the royal family.

II.

The productions of North and North-east Borneo must, from early times, have attracted considerable attention from the Chinese, as is shewn by the names of the largest river and the highest mountain in that territory, viz., China Batangan and China Balu; very large quantities of birds' nests, beche-de-mer, sharks' fins, Bornean camphor, pearls and pearl-shells are still collected there, and in no other part of the island, for export to China. The unsuccessful expedition sent by KUBLAI KHAN, A.D. 1292, to the Eastern Archipelago was probably to this place, and may have been that which gave a Raja or Princess to Borneo, for there is unboubted uncertainty in this early part of the Bornean narrative as to relative dates. It is very probable that the Chinese had a settlement or factory at China Batangan, and that the wife of Sultan AKHMED, the second Sovereign, came from there, as in some versions of the Sêlêsilah she is expressly stated to have been brought thence by the Sultan.

III.

In the copy of the Sêlêsilah given to me by Pangîran KASUMA, Sultan AKHMED is represented as having been the brother of Sultan

MAHOMED, and to have married the daughter of the Chinese Chief, whom he brought from China Batangan, who, with all his people, is said to have settled in Bruni, and to have had by her a daughter, who was married to the Arab Sheriff who became the third Sultan. This seems to be confirmed by the narrative on the historical stone carved by order of the Sultan MAHOMED TÂJ-UDDIN.

IV.

“Kota Batu.”—There are two places called thus, one in the site of the ancient palace at the little river Bruni below the ancient tombs of the former Sultans, the other is the artificial bar formed in the river between the islands “Kaya Orang” * and “Pulau Chermin” which the Pangîran KASUMA’s narrative gives as the one referred to in the text, saying that forty junks filled with stones were sunk to form it. As the former was in existence and mounted with fifty-six brass and six iron cannon in 1521, when FIGAFETTA visited the place, it was probably built at the same time. In the stone tablet the erection of the Kota Batu is ascribed to the Arab Sultan BĒRKAT, the third of the Kings, who married the daughter of Sultan AKHMED; he probably, with the assistance of his Chinese subjects, finished one or both of these structures.

V.

Sultan BULKEIAH was familiarly known as Nakoda RAGAM: he is described in Bornean traditions as a great navigator and warrior, having voyaged to Java and to Malacca and conquered the East Coast of Borneo, Luzon and Soolook. His tomb, of very exquisite workmanship in very hard basaltic stone, still remains on the hill above the site of the ancient town; it was probably imported from Achin or Java. Two stones only remained in 1873 of the similar tomb of LELA MEN CHANEI, the wife of this Sultan, who was a daughter of the Batâra of Soolook. I saw two other stones which had formed part of this lady’s tomb in the burial ground at the

* “Kaya Orang.” There are veins of coal on this island, and the remains of regular fortifications: it is opposite Pulau Chermin, and with it commands the entrance of the Bruni river.

"Kiangi" above the "Upas" under a large *waringing* tree. Sentences from the Koran are exquisitely carved on both tombs, but they have no names or dates which I could distinguish.

VI.

Sultan HASAN had a palace at Tanjong Chindâna and a fort on Pulau Chermin. He was buried in the former place and is hence called Mërhoum di Tanjong. He is reported to have reconquered several countries. Soolook is said to have been tributary to him, and it is certain he had intimate relations with that State, a son of his by a concubine having, it is asserted, become its Raja: it may have been under his order and by his assistance that the attack on the arsenal of Santao in 1617 took place, when all the garrison were killed and property to the value of \$1,000,000 destroyed. The tribute formerly paid by Sëlurong (Manila) to Bruni is stated to have been one gantang of gold in each year.

Before Sultan HASAN's time, there were only two Wazirs—the Raja Bëndahâra and Raja Tëmënggong: he added the Pangîran or Raja di Gedong and the Pangîran Pemancha; so that, like the Prophet, he might have four counsellors or "friends." He must have been contemporary with Sultan ISKANDER MUDA of Achin, A.D. 1600-1631.

The son of Sultan HASAN, who became Sultan of Soolook, is called, in an appendix to the Sëlësîlah, Pangîran Shahbandar Maharaja Lela, grandson of the Batâra Raja of Soolook. The Bornean Rajas dislike his memory and say that he was illegitimate and a bad character and dissatisfied in Bruni because he did not rank with the sons of his father born in wedlock, but a grandson of the Raja of Soolook must have been of considerable rank, and it is probable that the dislike arises from the after-events by which Soolook acquired so large a territory from Borneo after the conquest of the Mërhoum di Pulau.

Sultan HASSAN lived at Tanjong Chindâna and had a covered passage from his palace to Chermin island, which was strongly fortified. The Spaniards are said to have sent an embassy either in his time or that of his son JALIL-UL-AKBAR.

HISTORY

OF THE

SULTANS OF BRUNI

AND OF THEIR DESCENT,

FROM SULTAN ABDUL KAHAR

TO SULTAN ABDUL JALIL-UL-JEBAR.

The first, who had a large family, was the Sultan **ABDUL KAHAR**, who was attacked by the Castilians, * and carried by the Rajas to the country of Suei, having been conquered in the war through the treachery of one of the Chutreias named Pangîran Sri Lela. This Mërhoum had forty-two sons, one of whom became Sultan **SAIF-UL-REJAL**; two of his brothers became Bëndahâras and supports to His Majesty's throne. One of these was named Bëndahâra **SARI**, whose mother was a Javanese, and one was named Raja Bëndahâra **SAKAM**, whose mother was a Bajau, † and to him belonged all the dependencies of the country of Bruni as far as Lesong; ‡ he was very fierce and brave, and, when he was angry, it appeared to the people as if fire were issuing from his mouth, and not one of the Rajas dared dispute his will. All the daughters of the Rajas of Bruni who were beautiful he took and made wives and concubines of them, and it was for this reason that the Pangîran **BUONG MANIS**, § who was entitled the Pangîran Sri Lela, was

* The Spaniards first attacked Bruni under Don FRANCISCO LA SANDE in A.D. 1577 to place Sri Lela, who had professed submission, on the throne, which his brother had usurped. This attack more probably occurred in the time of **SAIF-UL-REJAL**, the son of **ABDUL KAHAR**, so that **ABDUL KAHAR**, who probably had a long reign, had died before 1577: his tomb was destroyed by the shots from the Spaniards.

† The Bajaus are a race having some settlements on the North-west and East coasts of Bruni, and among the islands, but on the East side living chiefly in boats; they were formerly pirates; they call themselves *orang sama*, and say their ancestors came from the Straits of Malacca. They are a bold and enterprising, but not an industrious people, and the young men and the women have a wild gipsy-like look, frequently with large beautiful eyes. Their language differs much from the Malay.

‡ Luzon.

§ This Pangîran had been banished to Kamanis by Raja Bëndahâra **SAKAM**.

treacherous to the Sultan, his daughter, who had just been married and was sitting by the side of her husband, having been seized and carried off by Raja SAKAM for a concubine; therefore, when the Castilians made war, the Pangîran Sri Lela went over to them, and the country was conquered, * all the Raja's Mëntris and Hulebalangs fled, † taking the Sultan with them, except the Bëndahâra SAKAM, who remained with one thousand people, men whom he had purchased. These made a fort at Pulau Ambok, and fought the Castilians, so that they fled away to Lesong, and then Bëndahâra SAKAM brought back the Sultan to Bruni, and set him on his throne.

After this Raja SAKAM sailed to Belahit in search of the Pangîran Sri Lela and his brother Sri Retna, and when he had slain them all he returned to Bruni and strengthened the throne of his brother, the Sultan SAIF-UL-REJAL. All his brothers became Chutreias of the Bëndahâra; they were forty in number. If the Sultan went on a pleasure party to Labuan or Muara, they each wore a *chemâra kimkha* of blue and gold, to distinguish them as brothers of the Yang di Pertuan.

About this time the wife of the Sultan became pregnant, and the Sultan expecting a male child, the drums were beaten, but it proved to be a female, and an idiot having no understanding, but her appearance was very beautiful. After this His Majesty had two other daughters, ‡ and subsequently two sons, the

* The Spaniards came back in 1580 to re-place Sri Lela on the throne, and it was probably on this occasion that the Raja SAKAM distinguished himself. The Spanish history says that the Brunians were assisted by a Portuguese Captain, probably the Pangiran KESTANI, who will be mentioned further on. The Portuguese had carried on regular intercourse with Bruni since 1530, and they continued this to the capture of Malacca by the Dutch in 1691, and afterwards from Macao. When the present Sultan was a young man, he remembers Portuguese merchants in Bruni; this would be about the end of the last century.

† SAIF-UL-REJAL and his people went to live at Sungei Budu in the Sui river, which is near Bintala. He fell sick here, but is said to have recovered and returned to Bruni. He is called Merhoum di Budu. In Bruni he lived at the Mazagong Istana in the Sungei Kadeian, where also he died. Raja SAKAM was a younger brother of SAIF-UL-REJAL.

‡ These ladies were the Raja DI MISJID, and the Raja of BALINBANDONG, and one of these ladies, daughters of SAIF-UL-REJAL, settled her property, that is, the Bajaus of Marudu and Bangui, and the Bisayas of Mempalau, Lawas, and Bakau, on Raja TUAN, the daughter of Merhoum di Tanjong, who was the mother of Merhoum di Pulau.

one who became Sultan SHAH BRUNI, and the other Sultan HASAN, who succeeded His Majesty in the Kingdom.

Sultan SHAH BRUNI, having been for some time on the throne, died * leaving no children, and was succeeded by his brother Sultan HASAN, who is known as the Mërhoum di Tanjong. His reign was of a very despotic character, and he did whatever he pleased in Bruni.

As regards the eldest sister of this Sultan, who was idiotic, her father gave her for inheritance the Bajaus of Marudu and of Bangui and the Bisayas of Mempalau, of Lawas and of Bakau. There was a Pangîran MAHOMED PANJANG † of Kampong Pandei Kawat, who was rich : he had three hundred dependants (*hamba*), and became in love with the idiot Raja, and presented her with his three hundred people as a marriage gift. After this he received the title of Pangîran Bëndâhara MAHOMED, and he was the father of the Pangîran Bëndahâra KAHAR, of Bëndahâra HAMID, and of Bëndahâra ABDUL, Mërhoum di Pulau. Bëndahâra ABDUL was the Bëndahâra of the Mërhoum Tumbang di Rumput, that is to say, Sultan MAHOMET ALI, and he it was he who seized the throne of the Kingdom of Bruni, and he reigned under the name of the Sultan ABDUL MUBIN.

The original cause of the massacre which led to this was that a son ‡ of the Sultan had killed a son of the Bëndahâra, and when

* One account says the Sultan abdicated in favour of his brother.

† Pangiran KASTMA has a note here to the effect that in former times the sons of Sultans were called Rajas, the other nobles being titled Pangirans. Raja Muda HUSIN, who was murdered in 1847 (?), was the last who was called Raja. There is some mistake in the text in reference to the wife of this Pangiran, PANDEI KAWAT, who married Raja TUAN, a daughter of Sultan HASAN, and who seems to have inherited the property of the ladies her aunts, especially that of Raja MISJID. He was, after his marriage, made Pangiran Bendahara MAHOMED, and was the father of the children mentioned in the text.

‡ This Prince, after escaping from the vengeance of the Bendahara by the back of the palace and to sea in a sampan, appears to have been, during the life of his father, the Pangiran di Gedong. He was named OMAR, and is reported to have been insolent and unpopular, and the insurrection of the Bendahara, which was originally intended only against him, was supported by the chief nobility, his own house seems to have been attacked and burnt, from which he fled to his father's followed by the Bendahara.

the Bëndahâra saw that his son was killed without any just cause, he went up to the palace and presented himself before the Yang di Pertuan, with forty of his people, all fully equipped, and having reached the audience chamber, the son of the King who killed his son was also presenting himself before his father, the Sultan.

The Bëndahâra in detailing his case said: "Oh, my Lord, "King of the World, what is the reason that my son has been killed by the Prince? If this matter is not enquired into by your Majesty, it will fall out that your Majesty will be left alone in the country, for the subjects of your Majesty will say that, if your Majesty's son does such things, what may not be expected of those who are of inferior rank? And the end of it will be that Bruni will become desolate."

When His Majesty heard the statement of the Pangîran Bëndahâra he said: "Oh, Pangîran, as to the killing of a person without cause, if my son be guilty he must be killed for it."

When the Prince heard these words of his father, he got up and went into the interior of the palace of his father, and the Pangîran Bëndahâra said: "Oh, my Lord, if such be the decision of the Lord of the World, let me ask of your Majesty to disown the Prince altogether," and His Majesty said: "Oh, Pangîran Bëndahâra, how can I give you my son now that he has brought the blood of death into the palace?" When the Pangîran heard this, he got up with his forty people and followed the Prince into the palace. [There is here a hiatus in the manuscript, two or three words only visible:—*Melihat Bëndahâra deri pintu seblah tiada kelihatan di mata]*. When the Bëndahâra could not see the Prince, he fell to killing the people in the palace. The Sultan, on seeing the Bëndahâra go into the palace and kill the people belonging to it, said: "Oh, Pangîran, what is this you are doing? One person has committed a crime and you are killing others." The Bëndahâra replied: "The eyes of your slave were obscured." His Majesty then said: "Kill me also," and the Bëndahâra said: "Very well, my Lord," and caught hold of the Sultan and lifted him up and carried him on to the grass and

there garotted him, from which circumstance he is called Mërhoum "Tumbang di Rumpuť." When His Majesty was dead, he was buried according to the rites of burial of the Rajas.*

The people of the palace were scattered, running away in all directions. The son of the Raja, † who was the murderer, escaped to the sea, but there were other children of His Majesty who remained in Bruni, one named Raja HASAN and one Raja HUSIN, also eight nephews, children of brothers of His Majesty, the sons of Mërhoum TUAH. All the insignia of royalty, as the crown from Johor and the *kamanah* from China, were taken away by the Bëndahâra, who made himself King, being installed by his dependants by the title of Sultan ABDUL MUBIN, but he was not *nobat* nor crowned. The son of Mërhoum TUAH, named Pangîran BONGSU, and who was also son-in-law of Mërhoum di Rumpuť, was made his Bëndahâra by the Sultan ABDUL MUBIN. ‡

Some time after this the Pangîran Bëndahâra went out to hunt and wandered to the house of a Kedeian (§) Chief named Orang Kaya IMAS. When Orang Kaya IMAS saw the Pangîran Bëndahâra coming towards his house, he pretended not to have observed him, and said as if to himself: "Fie, all these Rajas are without shame; their father has been murdered, and they seek no revenge; it is a creditable thing for those to hold up their hands in obeisance." He then spat on the ground, and for the first time turning to the Pangîran Bëndahâra looked towards him and said: "Whence does my Lord the Pangîran come?" and invited him to enter saying: "Enter into the hut of your servant, a man of the woods." The Pangîran went in, and sugar-cane, plantains, potatoes and kladis

* The date of this occurrence is the first and only one in Bruni history, it is: "*Malam hari Isnein*" 14th *Rabial Akhir*, A. H. 1072,"—about A. D. 1655 (?).

† Pangiran di Gedong OMAR, called PEM-UKUR.

‡ Sultan ABDUL MUBIN lived at Kawang Berbunga, opposite the Kota Baru, in which the Merhoum Tumbang di Rumpuť's palace had stood. The city of Bruni at that time was built on piles covering the extensive mud flats between these two royal residences.

§ The Kadeians are a race of people who differ in appearance and language from the people of Bruni, and live in the country immediately surrounding the city. They appear from ancient times to have been dependant on the Court; they are a quiet agricultural race, professing the Mahomedan religion.

were served to him, and after the meal was over the Orang Kaya IMAS said: "Oh, my Lord, what is your opinion in reference to the death of your Lordship's father? Is nothing to be done about it? Do not your Lordships intend to revenge it?" The Pangîran said: "Orang Kaya, what means have we? for we are without power." The Orang Kaya replied: "Why does your Lordship speak like this? We are all your people? The people do not wish to obey a Raja who is not of the line of the Yang di Pertuan. It is quite possible to create alarms at night. If your Lordship orders me to do this, even to the palace of Raja ABDUL I will do it every night." The Pangîran Bëndahâra said: "Very well, do as you have said, and I and my brothers will consider of this matter." The Orang Kaya said: "Very well, my Lord," and the Pangîran Bëndahâra returned. When he reached his house he collected all his relations and said: "Oh, my brothers, what is your opinion in reference to the late Sultan who was murdered? Do you wish me to endeavour to revenge it?" His brothers said: "What can we do who have no power? But notwithstanding this, if you take the matter up, we will not fail you," and so they fully agreed to seek revenge, and every one prepared himself.

In the meanwhile Orang Kaya IMAS went down every night to *mengâjeok*, and this was done for two or three months, causing excessive watching, and the Bëndahâra and his relatives being ready, he attended an audience of the Yang di Pertuan and said: "How is it that all of us are obliged to keep watch every night to the great trouble of the people, who have no time even to go out for food, for Bruni is a large city, and it is easy for thieves to come and get away? I think it would be a prudent thing of your Majesty to go to Pulau Chermin, because thieves must come in boats to get to the island."

When the Sultan heard the Pangîran speak thus, he said: "Whatever you think best I will do," and so it was arranged to remove to the island, and many people built houses at Chermin, and when the *istana* was finished, the Bëndahâra said to the Sultan:

“ It will be well for your Highness to remove to the island, so that “ I may then begin to build my house, when my heart is at ease as “ to the safety of your Majesty.” The Raja agreed and removed, but only two or three of the royal guns were taken to the island.

While the Raja was moving, the Pangîran Bëndahâra prevented people from going to the island, so that about one third of the people removed, and two thirds remained, and he ordered the *ryots* to repair the forts at Pulau Ambok * and mount the guns, and when this was all ready he waited expecting the attack from Pulau Chermin.

The Raja at the island was expecting the Bëndahâra, who, however, did not come. After he had been there seven days and the Bëndahâra made no appearance, he ordered the Orang Kaya di Gedong † to enquire as to it. He went up to Bruni and presented himself before the Pangîran Bëndahâra, and said : “ My Lord, your servant has “ been ordered by your Lordship’s royal father to enquire the reason, as he is waiting your arrival and you do not come.” The Pangîran Bëndahâra replied : “ The reason for our not coming is “ because we intend to be revenged for the death of the late Sultan.” The Pangîran di Gedong then went back again and informed the Sultan of what the Pangîran Bëndahâra had said. When the Yang di Pertuan heard this he was very angry, like blazing fire, and the war between the island and Bruni at once commenced.

The people of Bruni, when the Orang Kaya di Gedong had returned, made the Pangîran Bëndahâra Sultan MUADDIN, so that there were two Rajas, one at the island, and one at Bruni.‡ The Sultan of Bruni’s cause was espoused by the people of the terri-

* Pulau Ambok is an island about three quarters of a mile below the present town of Bruni and just about the site of Kota Batu and the ancient city.

† The Orang Kaya di Gedong is the chief of the Mentris as they are called in Bruni. They are the chief officers of the Sultan and Wazirs, and are not of noble birth, being taken from the trading classes of the community ; they are selected for their intelligence, and have had great influence in politics of the country.

‡ Soon after the breaking out of the war, Sultan MUADDIN found that the old town of Bruni was too near the island, from which attacks upon it were frequently made, he, in consequence, removed to the Kuala Tumasik, which is the uppermost part of the site of the present town on the left bank of the river.

tories to the westward, and that of the island Raja was supported by the provinces to the northward. The war having lasted for some time, dissensions arose among the people of Bruni, * who insisted on peace, so that peace was established.

As soon as they had recovered themselves, they went to war again, and the people of the island were worsted, and fled to Kinârut, where they were followed by the Brunians, and the war was continued there. Then Bruni met with reverses, and the war ceased for some time.

After this Sultan ABDUL MUBIN came back to Pulau Chermin and re-commenced the war. Famine soon appeared in Bruni, for all trade was prevented coming up the river by the people of the island, and the Sultan MUADDIN sent a letter to the Batâra of Soolook, asking for assistance, and he came with five boats, and on arriving at the island went up and had an audience of the Raja (ABDUL MUBIN). The Raja of the island did not know that the Batâra of Soolook † would support Sultan MUADDIN, and the Batâra of Soolook told him that the reason he had come was that he had heard that they were fighting amongst themselves, and that it was, in his opinion, very unfortunate that Islams should be at war with one another; he would, if possible, advise that peace should be established. The Raja of the island said: "This war was not "of our seeking the Pangîran Bëndahâra has brought it about." ‡

The Batâra of Soolook then said: "I will pass on to Bruni and "see the Pangîran Bëndahâra." The Sultan ABDUL MUBIN said: "Very well, I am very anxious for peace." The sign of bad fortune had come upon His Majesty, his devils and kafirs and shadows would no longer come at his call.

* Provisions became scarce, as the island of Chermin, which was held by the Sultan ABDUL MUBIN, commands the entrances to the Bruni river.

† The commander of the Soolook fleet, which is put by other statements at forty boats, was Bendahara TAITING; a brother of the Sultan of Soolook is said to have accompanied him.

‡ The war lasted in all about twelve years; during the greater part of the time the Sultan ABDUL MUBIN resided at Kinarut, and four Rajas Temenggong were killed in operations against him there. The Pangiran KASUMA, whose sympathies and relationships were with the island, says peace had been solemnly made three times and broken by the Brunian Raja, and the usurper had come back to the island under such a peace previous to the final catastrophe.

The Batâra of Soolook went up to Bruni and met the Sultan MUADDIN, and having feasted and drank, the Sultan * asked the Batâra for his assistance to destroy his enemies at the island, promising that if the island should be conquered, the land from the North as far westward as Kimani should belong to Soolook. The Batâra of Soolook accepted this with delight, and the people of Bruni all got ready to attack the island, and posted their forces on Bukit Chindâna and Didaliton, and the Soolooks took possession of the island of Kayang Arang, and carried on the war. After a time the people of the island became straightened, for the guns fired down upon them from the top of the hills, and the Raja of the island, perceiving that his chances became less, destroyed all the insignia of royalty, as the crown from Johor and the *kamanah* from China, and rammed them into a cannon, which he fired out to sea, and thus it was that the crown from Johor was lost.

Pangîran KAWAT assaulted the palace, and killed the people and women of the Raja, together with the Raja himself, who had run into the mosque; the people of Bruni and of Soolook rushed on the island and finding the Raja in the mosque, garotted him there. †

* The tradition in Soolook is that both sides asked for the assistance of the Soolook fleet, and that the Commander sided with the Bruni Sultan because he offered the countries which, belonging to his enemies, lay near to Soolook. They say the Soolooks did all the fighting, the Bruni people only looking on. The present Yang di Pertuan and the Selesilah of the Pangiran KASUMA all deny the assistance of the Soolooks, or that any agreement was made with them for the surrender of territory, saying they did not arrive till the island was taken, and that they stole the royal guns *Si Membung* and *Raja Andei*, which the Soolooks say were given to them in token of the agreement. These guns were subsequently taken by the Spaniards from Soolook to Manila. The Soolooks also took with them as prisoner the Orang Kaya MALIK, who, although not noble, was a person of great consideration on the side of the island. The present Yang di Pertuan would never let me see the copy of the Selesilah, which he is known to possess, and Pangiran KASUMA when he heard I had obtained the authentic copy from which the text is taken, said that it contained the true version, that at present adopted having been invented to conceal the shame of the Brunians.

Mr. JESSE, who was Resident in Bruni for the East India Company in 1774, and Sir STAMFORD RAFFLES, who was familiar with the history of the Malay States, (see p. 268, Vol. I., third para.) seem to have considered the cession to the Soolooks as unquestioned by the Brunians at the time the same countries were made over to the English by these latter people.

† One account says the Raja was killed with a kris at his own request, instead of being garotted as intended. The death of the usurper took place twelve years after that of his victim Merhoum Tumbang di Rumput.

About half of the Rajas in the island asked to surrender as captives and became prisoners, and those who remain at the present time are called Raja Raja Pulau.*

Sultan MUADDIN then returned to Bruni carrying all the captives from the island, and the Batâra of Soolook returned to Soolook carrying his captives and plunder, including the guns which were at the island, all of which were left to the Batâra of Soolook ; even the royal guns, † which had been taken to the island, were given to the Batâra of Soolook.

The war being concluded, and peace having been for some time established, the Sultan MUADDIN went to Kalekka to put in order all his provinces. Some time before this a son of Mërhoum TUAH, named Raja TINGAH,‡ of great courage which could not be opposed, and of great activity and unaccountable caprices, had grieved his elder brother Sultan ABDUL JALIL-UL-JEBAR, § who was in consequence desirous to get rid of him, but could not contrive it, because no one could deal with him.

* The family of the late Pangiran Bendahara Muda MAHOMED and of Raja Muda HASIM belonged to the Pulau Rajas. The late Sultan OMAR ALI SAIF-UDDIN II., and his family represent the old Bruni party. The copy of the Selesilah which Pangiran KASUMA gave me says that the reason why the Raja di Pulau was called Orang Kaya Rongiah (apparently a Bajau title) was that all his provinces and dependencies lay on the side towards Sabah (the coasts to the North of the river Bruni are thus designated). The Rajas of Bruni represented by Sultan MUADDIN having their possessions towards the Ulu (the West Coasts are thus indicated). Mërhoum di Pulau is the last of the Rajas of the Bajaus, but other Bajaus belong to the Court, as those of Lugut, Memiang, Palawan, and Balabak. The Bajaus of Patalan are under the Pangiran Temenggong. All other Bajaus whatsoever belong to the Pulau Rajas, as being descended from the sister of Mërhoum di Tanjong, who was the oldest of the family who inherited one thousand males, making the inheritance of the Rajas di Pulau equal to that of Mërhoum di Tanjong.

† These were "Si Membang" and "Raja Andei," cast by Sultan SHAH BRUNI.

‡ Rajah TINGAH was called also Sultan ANAM, and the Pangiran KASUMA's Selesilah calls him the son, not the brother, of Mërhoum TINGAH.

§ Sultan JALIL-UL-JEBAR was the son of a Javanese Princess, SITI KAISA, the second wife of Raja TUAH, and was her second son. He was called ALLIUDIN afterwards Raja TINGAH, and then Sultan. This lady had a third child, a girl. Raja OMAR was her eldest son. JALIL-UL-JEBAR is spoken of as Mërhoum TINGAH

His Majesty the elder brother sent for him and said: "It, my brother, has been my fortune from God to become the Raja of this Kingdom of Bruni, and you, my younger brother, desire also to be the Raja. I am willing, for are we not both sons of his late Majesty?" Raja TINGAH replied: "Yes, my Lord, I, your slave, am a vassal beneath your Majesty. Whatever orders you may give I obey, but I do not know any reason why your Majesty should be desirous of my absence from Bruni." After this His Majesty the Sultan said: "Things being as they are, it is better that you should become Raja of the country of Sarâwak, and take with you some of the *Sakeis* of Sandar as your people." Raja TINGAH replied: "I obey your Majesty's orders," and he accordingly went to Sarâwak, and directed a palace and fort to be built, and appointed a Tëmënggong, and he himself sailed to Johor to see the Raja BONDA, because the Raja BONDA was the sister of Mërhoum TEAH, who had been married by the Sultan ABDUL JALIL of Johor.* The Tëmënggong and half the *Sakeis* remained at Sarâwak, and these are people whose descendants to the present day are called the Hamba Râja of Sarâwak.

When Raja TINGAH first arrived at Johor, he was made much of by the Yang di Pertuan of Johor, being feasted with eating and drinking and dancing. After this had been continued for some time the Maharaja ADINDA also danced, and endeavoured to induce the Raja TINGAH to do the same, but the Raja said: "Do not request me, because the people of Bruni do not know how to dance," but the Maharaja ADINDA pushed him; on this the Raja TINGAH took the handkerchief from Maharaja ADINDA, and pulled him two or three steps, he then twisted the handkerchief and struck the Prince across the face with it, and then went down to his boat.

The Yang di Pertuan was very angry, and would have killed the Raja TINGAH, which coming to the knowledge of the Raja BONDA, she went down to Raja TINGAH's boat in all haste and prevented the execution of the Sultan's orders.

* This must have been the second Sultan of that name of Johor, who reigned from 1628 to 1667.

Raja BONDA ordered Raja TINGAH to go away immediately, and he sailed, intending to return to Sarâwak, but fell to the leeward and arrived at Matan, and was there received by the Sultan, who gave him a wife, * by whom he had a male child ; after which he was desirous to return to Sarâwak.

Having departed from Matan he touched at the mouth of the Sambas river, and was there welcomed by the Ratu of Sambas, † who gave him a wife, by whom he also had a son, named RADIN BIMA.

Again wishing to go back to Sarâwak he sailed from Sambas, and at Batu Buaya he went ashore in a sampan with a *Sakei*, who was mad, and a small boy, who was carrying his kris. On arriving at the shore he polled up the river above the rock, and the *Sakei* stabbed him with a spear in the ribs. His Majesty was taken by surprise, but took his kris from the boy and cut off the head of the *Sakei* with a blow on the neck, and also the head of the boy who had borne the kris, and then having returned to the boat, the Patinggi and Tēmčnggong, who had heard His Majesty was at the mouth of the river and had gone down to meet him, brought him up to the palace, where having arrived he died.

The son of His Majesty who was left at Matan having grown up was invested as Sultan of Matan ; Pangiran MANGKU NEGÂRA had become Penambahan before he went to Bruni to meet his royal father.*

* This lady was Raja BAKA, daughter of the Penambahan.

† Pangiran KASUMA says this Chief of Sambas was called WAN NUGAL, and came from Ratu Silakau in Java. This Sultan ANAM had children (Pangiran Bendahara, Raja LUDIN, Pangiran SARI, and Pangiran MANGKU NAGARA) apparently by the Sambas lady.

KASUMA's Selesilah says the sovereigns who have reigned at Sambas are :— first, Merhoum TUAH ; second, Merhoum SULEIMAN, who begot Merhoum BIMA, who was Sultan MAHOMED JELAL-ADDIN, whose son Sultan MAHOMED KEMAL-ADDIN begot Sultan ABU BAKAR, whose son Sultan OMAR AKAM ADDIN rules in the country of Sambas.

‡ These titles of Sultan of Sambas and Penambahan of Matan are said in Pangiran KASUMA's version to have been first conferred by Sultan MUADDIN on the two sons of Sultan ANAM as independent sovereigns. The Court of Sambas and that of Bruni continue to carry on friendly correspondence, and each acknowledges the relationship of the other.

The son of His Majesty who was at Sambas at the time when Sultan MUADDIN went to Kalekka was summoned to meet him there by His Majesty, who brought him back with him to Bruni. In Bruni he was invested as Sultan ANUM, and he is the root of the sovereigns of Sambas. After a time he was sent back to Sambas to govern it, and the land from Tanjong Datu to Batu Balak was given him as territory of Sambas, and from that point the territory of Matan began.

We will now refer to the children of Mërhoum TUAH, who remained at Bruni. Firstly, Pangîran ABDUL;* he was of great courage and strength like Raja TINGAH, and was the father of Sultan NASR-ADDIN, Mërhoum di Changi and Pangîran di Gedong KASSIM, Pangîran DERMA WANGSA, Pangîran MURALLIN, and Pangîran LAPAR. We do not notice the daughters. There were also the children of Mërhoum TUAH by his wife, a daughter of the Tëmçnggong of Grisik,† named RADINMAS WANGKAR, three sons, the eldest of whom, Raja OMAR, died and was buried at the mouth of the Inanam river. He was the father of Raja BESAR, who became wife of Raja AMAT, son of the Sultan JALIL-UL-JEBAR, whose child was the Raja Bëndahâra ÛTONG, father of Raja TUAH. Another child of Raja OMAR, also a girl named Pangîran TUAH, became the wife of Pangîran AMÎR, the son of Mërhoum di Pulau. She had one thousand people (*hamba*), and was the mother of Shahbandar KHARMA DEWA and Pangîran Besar SULONG.

There were also (other ?) children of Mërhoum TUAH by his Javanese wife: the second son, named Sultan ABDUL JALIL-UL-JEBAR, was the father of Raja AMAT; a younger son of Mërhoum TUAH

* This ABDUL was reckoned by DALRYMPLE in Soolook as one of the Sovereigns of Bruni; he was the eldest son of Sultan JALIL-UL-AKBAR, and father of Sultan NASR-ADDIN. There seems to have been civil war between him and his half-brother JALIL-UL-JEBAR; he was killed on the little rock called "Madang Madang" * lying off Tanjong Ranche Ranche in Labuan. A Pangiran Maharaja Lela seems to have conducted the war against him.

[* From *padang* (pronounced by the Brunians *padang*), a sword, from the number of swords left masterless on this occasion.]

† Named SITI KAISA.

was Raja LUADDIN, whose son was Sultan NASR-ADDIN.* Afterwards Mërhoum TUAH had another son named Raja TUAH, and another who became Sultan MUADDIN, who fought against the Pulau, and was the father of Bëndahâra KASSIM. Another son was named Pangîran di Gedong SHAH BUDIN. There was another son named Pangîran Maharaja Lela, who lived at Sematan, and was the father of Pangîrans AMAT, ALAM and KADIR. Pangîran AMAT died at Kemanis, his supply of opium having failed him.

THE PORTUGUESE WRECKED VESSEL.

There was a vessel wrecked at Tanjong Prangi (Feringhie?) off Rijang. It belonged to the Portuguese, who are called Orang Makau by the Bruni people. The point of land now named Rijang did not exist at that time, nor was the mouth of the river then there. There was a sand bank only in the sea, off the mouth of the river. The people of Rijang took the Portuguese from the wrecked ship and brought them to Bruni to the Yang di Pertuan. It is not certain whether this was in the time† of Sultan ABDUL KAHAR, or of Sultan SHAH BRUNI, but His Majesty took them under his protection and called the Captain his son, and gave him the title of Pangîran KESTANI (? KRISTANI), and made him a present of Manila, because it was after the Spaniards had attacked Bruni ‡ and had returned to Manila, and Pangîran KESTANI promised the Mërhoum

* This must be a mistake. Sultan NASR-ADDIN was the son of Raja BESAR ABDUL, who was the son of the Merhoum TUAH by his first wife, by whom also he had two daughters. (See p. 21.)


† This Raja ABDUL is recorded in the notes made in Soolook in 1763 by DALRYMPLE as a sovereign of Bruni in succession to Merhoum BONGST, but all the Brunian historical records and traditions give the sovereignty on this occasion to his son Sultan NASR-ADDIN. The Raja BESAR ABDUL seems to have claimed the throne and been killed at Labuan in the time of Sultan JALIL-UL-JEBAR, his brother by his father's second wife SITI KAISA.

‡ The wreck must have taken place in the reign of the seventh Sultan SAIF-ADDIN UL REJAL, and this Captain is probably the officer referred by the Spaniards as assisting this son of the Sultan ABDUL KAHAR to displace his brother Si RIELA (SRI LELA), whom they had placed upon the throne in 1577, and whom their second expedition in 1580 was sent again to support.

‡ Alluding to the first attack in 1577.

that he would get back Manila, but after he had lived some time in Bruni there came a Makau ship and took him away to Makau, but he afterwards returned and was desirous of presenting himself before the Sultan, but hearing at sea, off Ujong Sapo * that the Mërhoum was dead, he did not come up to Bruni, but left three guns—one named Si Tunggal, one named Si Kersla, and one was named Si Dewa—and then he went away.

* The point of the Island Muara which one makes in entering the river of Bruni.



LIST
OF THE
MAHOMEDAN SOVEREIGNS
OF
BRUNI, OR BORNEO PROPER.

No. 1.—Sultan MAHOMED, who introduced the religion of Islam.

No. 2.—Sultan AKHMED, the brother of Sultan MAHOMED. He married the daughter or sister of SUM'PING, a Chinese chief who had come down to Borneo, by order of the Emperor of China, to seek for the jewel which was in the possession of the dragon of China Balu. He went with his daughter on her marriage to Sultan AKHMED from China Batangan to Bruni, taking all his people with him, and there built the bar of stones at the mouth of the river and the Kota Batu at the residence of the Sultans. Sultan AKHMED had a daughter by his Chinese wife who was married to—

No. 3.—Sultan BĒRKAT, who had come from the country of Taif, in Arabia, and who was a descendant of the prophet through his grandson HUSIN; he enforced the observance of the religion of Islam and the laws of the Mahomedans, and built a mosque.

No. 4.—Sultan SULEIMAN, son of the BĒRKAT. He carried on his father's policy of propagandism and strict observance of religious rites and duties. He was succeeded by his son—

No. 5.—Sultan BULKEIAH,* called Nakoda RAGAM, on account of his numerous caprices. He seems to have been a person of great activity and intelligence, made many voyages to Java,

* FIGAFETTA'S visit to Borneo, which took place in 1521, was probably towards the end of the reign of BULKEIAH.

Malacca, Johor, and other places, and conquered the countries of Soolook and Luzon. He married LELA MEN CHANEI, the daughter of the Batâra, or King, of Soolook, and was succeeded by his son—

No. 6.—Sultan ABDUL KAHAR, called Mërhoum Krâmat, from the popular tradition of his phantom having appeared on horseback, after his demise, at the head of the armies of Bruni on one of the two occasions of the city being attacked by the Spaniards in the reign of his son in 1577 and 1580. ABDUL KAHAR had forty-two sons, of whom—

No. 7.—Sultan SAIF-UL-REJAL succeeded him. Two of his brothers were: the Bëndahâra SARI, whose mother was a Javanese Princess; and the Bëndahâra Raja SAKAM, whose mother was a Bajau Princess, through whom he inherited great possessions in the Bajau countries as far as Luzon. He was of a very arbitrary and licentious character, but resolute and brave. The Spaniards, at the instigation of two Pangîrans—Sri Lela and Sri Retna—attacked Bruni on two occasions, and took it on the second in 1580. During the troubles the Sultan with all the Court retired to Suei, a river to the westward of Baram, leaving Raja SAKAM as Regent to defend Bruni, which he seems to have done gallantly, and finally to have forced the Spaniards to retire. After this he brought his brother the Sultan back to Bruni, and himself conducted an expedition to Belahit, to which river the Pangîrans Sri Lela and Sri Retna had retired; there they were slain, and the Bëndahâra returned to Bruni to support the government of his brother. The troubles of this reign were probably owing to the licentious disposition of Raja SAKAM, who is said to have taken all the most beautiful of the daughters of the Nobles for his wives and concubines, and it was his carrying away the daughter of one of them, for such a purpose, from her father's house on her wedding day, that drove Sri Lela and Sri Retna, who appear to have been sons of the former Sultan and half-brothers to SAIF-UL-REJAL and the Bëndahâra, into rebellion. Sultan SAIF-UL-REJAL had two daughters, and afterwards two sons by his wife, and other children by concubines. The eldest Princess was an idiot; the second was the Raja DI MISJID, who settled her property (Bajau)

on Raja TUAN, the daughter of her youngest brother, Sultan HASAN; these bequests became the nucleus of the wealth of her family—the Pulau Rajas. The eldest son of SAIF-UL-REJAL was—

No. 8.—Sultan SHAH BRUNI, who succeeded his father, but, having no children, and after a reign of some years, having no hope of lineal succession, abdicated in favour of his brother, Sultan HASAN. During this and the following reigns many very large brass cannon were cast in Bruni. A son of the Sultan SAIF-UL-REJAL by a concubine, who was made Pangîran Tëmënggong MAHOMED by his brother Sultan HASAN, was the chief superintendent of the foundries.

No. 9.—Sultan HASAN, brother of SHAH BRUNI. He is described in the Bornean traditions as the most arbitrary, powerful and magnificent of the sovereigns of Borneo. He is called the Mërhoum di Tanjong, from his palace and his tomb both having been at Tanjong Cheindâna, the point of land behind Pulau Chermin, at the entrance of the Borneo river. He is said to have consolidated the provinces of the kingdom, and to have completed the conquest of such as were not previously thoroughly subdued. He fortified Pulau Chermin, and had a bridge constructed by which he could pass from his palace to the fort; elephants were in use for State purposes, and the etiquette of the Court was modelled on that of the Sultan of Achin, MAHKOTA ALAM. He married four Princesses, and had many concubines, and his palace was full of female servants. The eldest of his brothers by a concubine he made the Pangîran Tëmënggong MAHOMED; the second brother was the Pangîran di Gedong Bruni, notorious for the cruelties he inflicted as punishments; the third brother of the Sultan by a concubine was the Pangîran Shahbandar ABDULLAH: all of them left children.

The Sultan HASAN was the first sovereign who established four great Officers of State, the number having been formerly confined to two—the Bëndahâra and the Tëmënggong; to these he added the di Gedong and the Pemansha.

The only legitimate sons of Sultan HASAN, whom I can trace, are the Sultan ABDUL JALIL-UL-AKBAR and the Sultan MAHOMET

ALI; the two legitimate daughters I find mentioned are the Raja SITI NUR ALAM, who inherited from Raja RETNA, her aunt, and the Pangîran TUAH, who is said also to have been very rich.

No. 10.—Sultan ABDUL JALIL-UL-AKBAR, son of Sultan HASAN. He was called the Mërhoum Tuah, so that he was probably the eldest son. He was succeeded by—

No. 11.—His son ABDUL JALIL-UL-JEBAR. His father had a son by his first wife, who was called Raja Besar ABDUL. The short record of the Borneo Princes, obtained at Soolook by DALRYMPLE, reckons this Prince as one of the sovereigns of Borneo in the place in which the name of his son, Sultan NASR-ADDIN, should have been inserted. ABDUL was killed at Labuan by order of his brother ABDUL JALIL-UL-JEBAR, but there would seem to have been a civil war before this event, as the Pangîran Maharaja Lela, the son of the Pangîran di Gedong Besar, a son of Sultan HASAN by one of his concubines, and consequently a cousin of Raja ABDUL, is said in the Sêlësilah to have been extremely courageous and enterprising, and that it was he who was able to fight against the son of the Mërhoum Tuah, the Pangîran Besar ABDUL.

The Sultan ABDUL JALIL-UL-JEBAR was the second son of the second wife of his father. This lady was a Javanese Princess, named SITI KAISA. He had been called Pangîran Tingah, and is known as Mërhoum Tingah, from his being the second of the three children of his mother, the eldest having been a son named OMAR, and the youngest a daughter, who had no family.

The Sultan ABDUL JALIL-UL-JEBAR had also a third wife and family, consisting of Sultan MUADDIN, another son Pangîran di Gedong DAMIT, and several daughters.

The eldest son of ABDUL JALIL-UL-JEBAR was named AMAT, and he died at Kemanis for want of a supply of opium, and is buried there.

No. 12.—Sultan MAHOMET ALI, a son of Sultan HASAN and brother of Mërhoum Tuah, succeeded his nephew ABDUL JALIL-UL-JEBAR.

The son of the Sultan MAHOMET ALI was the Pangîran di Gedong OMAR. His manners were so insolent, that the Nobles and people, headed by the Raja Bëndahâra ABDUL MUBIN, who was a grandson of Sultan HASAN through one of his daughters, requested the removal of the obnoxious Wazir ; his father consented, and his house was attacked by the Bëndahâra. The di Gedong fled to his father's palace, which was burnt, and all the males of the royal family, except two infants named HASAN and HUSIN, were put to death by being garotted in the garden. This occurred on the evening of Sunday (*Malam Isnein*), the 14th Rabi al Ahkir, A.H. 1072. The Sultan MAHOMET ALI is hence called Mërhoum Tum-bang di Rumput.

The two infants were protected by their brother-in-law, Pangîran BONGSU, and the government was seized by the Bëndahâra, who reigned under the title of—

No. 13.—Sultan ABDUL MUBIN. He is called the Mërhoum di Pulau from his having lived at Pulau Chermin, and having been executed and buried there.

The people of Bruni with the Kedeians, headed by the Pangîgan BONGSU, who had been made Bëndahâra by the usurper, after some time rebelled against the Sultan ABDUL MUBIN. For greater security, he had fortified Pulau Chermin, and its situation enabling him to cut off all communication between the sea and the town, he removed to the island and carried on the war from there. Treaties of peace were on several occasions concluded, but always broken by the Pangîran BONGSU (who had assumed the title of Sultan MUADDIN), as soon as his resources were recruited.

The war lasted about twelve years, during a great part of which time ABDUL MUBIN had been living at Kinarut, and four Pangîrans Tëmenggongs had been killed in attacking him from Bruni. He finally returned to Chermin, under a treaty which his rival had sworn on the Koran to observe, but which was immediately broken. By the assistance of a force from the Sultan of Soolook, the forts on the island were captured, and the Sultan taken and krissed at his own desire, instead of dying by being strangled in the customary manner.

The Sultan ABDUL MUBIN was the third son of Pangîran Tuah, the second daughter of Sultan HASAN by her husband the Pangîran (afterwards Bëndahâra) MAHOMED, the Raja of the Kampong Pandei Kawat, so that he was the nephew of the sovereign whose throne he had usurped, and whose life he had taken.

No. 14.—Sultan MUADDIN was the fourth son of the Sultan ABDUL JALIL-UL-AKBAR, and after death was called Mërhoum BONGSU. He was the nephew and son-in-law of Sultan MAHOMET ALI, Mërhoum Tumbang di Rumput.

No. 15.—Sultan NASR-ADDIN, known in history as Mërhoum di Changei, was the son of Pangîran Besar ABDUL, the eldest son of the Sultan ABDUL JALIL-UL-AKBAR by his first marriage. He succeeded Sultan MUADDIN.

No. 16.—Sultan KEMAL-ADDIN was the next sovereign and the younger of the two infant sons of the Sultan MAHOMET ALI, who had been spared from the massacre of his father and brothers. He is called the Mërhoum di Lobah, and abdicated in favour of his son-in-law.

No. 17.—Sultan MAHOMED ALI-UDDIN, in whom the claims of the various branches of the royal family are recorded to have met, was the son of the Pangîran di Gedong SHAH BUBIN, the son of Sultan MUADDIN. His mother was the sister of the Raja Tuah ABDUL MUMIN AMIR-UL-WAZIR, son of the Bëndahâra ÜNTONG, son of the Raja AHMET, eldest son of Sultan JALIL-UL-AKBAR, the eldest son of Sultan HASAN.

Sultan MAHOMED ALI-UDDIN, who is known as the Mërhoum di Bruni, and was called also Raja APONG, died before his father-in-law and great uncle, the Mërhoum di Lobah, who again ascended the throne. He was succeeded by—

No. 18.—Sultan OMAR ALI SAIF-UDDIN, the son of Sultan MAHOMED ALI-UDDIN, must have become Sultan at a very early age. He is recorded by DALRYMPLE to have reigned in A.D. 1762, and the date of his death, as stated in his tomb in Bruni, is the 22 Zul Hâjî, A.H. 1209, corresponding with 10th July, A.D. 1795.

Sultan OMAR ALI SAIF-UDDIN married Raja PUTRI, daughter of the Sultan KEMAL-ADDIN, Mërhoum di Lobah, and had by her the Sultan MAHOMED TEJ-WALDIN. When this Princess died the Sultan married her sister Raja NUR ALAM, who was the mother of Sultan MAHOMED KHAN ZUL-ALAM. His third wife was the Pangîran ISTRI BONGSU, also a daughter of Mërhoum di Lobah, and widow of Pangîran PA-MANCHA KASSIM, who was by her the father of Pangîran SA LIA.

No. 19.—Sultan MAHOMED TEJ-WALDIN succeeded his father Sultan OMAR ALI SAIF-UDDIN. The date of his death is the 2nd Zul Haji, A.H. 1221=14th February, A.D. 1807.

No. 20.—Sultan MAHOMED TEJ-WALDIN resigned in favour of his son, the Sultan JEMAL-UL-ALAM, who died during the lifetime of his father, on the 9th Shahban, A.H. 1210=18th February, 1796, after a reign which is variously stated as having lasted from six to nine months. His father re-ascended the throne, and occupied it till his death in 1807, as before recorded.

No. 21.—Sultan KHAN ZUL-ALAM, half-brother of the Sultan TEJ-WALDIN, succeeded him. His wife was the Pangîran SA LIA, whose child Râja NUR ALAM was married to the Sultan MAHOMED JEMAL-UL-ALAM, and their son became Sultan MAHOMED ALI SAIF-UDDIN II., whose sister became the first wife of the present Sultan ABDUL MUMIN.

After Pangîran SA LIA's death the Sultan KHAN ZUL-ALAM married Pangîran NUR SELAM, a daughter of Pangîran SRI RAMA, and had issue daughters. The third wife of the Sultan MAHOMED KHAN ZUL-ALAM was the Pangîran SELAMAH, also a daughter of Pangîran SRI RAMA; her children were the Pangîran SRI BANUN, Muda MUTALAM (who usurped the sovereign power as Sultan MAHOMED ALAM, and was also called Raja API), Muda HASAN, Pangîran Muda MOHOMED, and others.

The date of Sultan MAHOMED KHAN ZUL-ALAM's death is not recorded on his tomb. He is said to have been Sultan at the time

of the eruption of the mountain Temburu which took place in 1815.

No. 22.—Sultan OMAR ALI SAIF-UDDIN, the second son of the Sultan MAHOMED JEMAL-UL-ALAM succeeded his great uncle, but Raja API attempted to subvert the succession in his favour, and there appear to have been several years of troubles in Bruni, until the authority of the legitimate Sultan was established by the death of Raja API, who was strangled at Pulau Chermin, and his family dispersed, Raja Muda HASHIM and the Raja Muda MAHOMED, his brothers, and other relatives going to Sarâwak.

The Sultan OMAR ALI SAIF-UDDIN II. died in Bruni in 1852.

No. 23.—The Sultan ABDUL MUMIN, the present Yang di Pertuan, is descended from Sultan KEMAL-ADDIN. He succeeded to the throne by the will of his predecessor and the general consent of the people.

TRANSCRIPTION AND TRANSLATION

OF A

HISTORIC TABLET

Engraved on stone, in the Malay character, by the order of the Sultan MAHOMED TEJ-WALDIN, in the year A.H. 1221 (A.D. 1804), and now standing on the tomb of his son the Sultan MAHOMED JEMAL-UL-ALAM in the "Makâm damit," situated at the southern foot of Bukit Panggal in the city of Bruni—"the abode of peace."

[*Copied on the 1st of June, 1873.*]

This is the genealogy of the Rajas who ruled over the country of Bruni, as set forth by Datoh IMAUM YAKUB. He heard it from the Mërhoum BONGSU, who is called Sultan MUADDIN and His Highness Sultan KEMAL-ADDIN. Thesetwo Rajas ordered a record to be written of their forefathers, in order that it might be known by all their descendants up to the present time. God knows if this is so.*

Inilah Sclësîlah Raja Raja yang karajaan di nêgri Bruni diniatâkan uleh Datoh IMAUM YAKUB iya mendungar deripada Mërhoum BONGSU yang bernâma Sultan MUADDIN, dan Paduka Maolâna Sultan KEMAL-ADDIN Ka dua Raja itu meniurot meniuratkan datoh nini moyangnia Sêpaya dikatahui uleh segâla anak chuchunia sampei sekarang ini Wallahu Ahlum.*

* Wallahu Ahlum—an expression used by Mahomedans to defend themselves from the sin of writing down or stating a fact which may not happen to be correct.

And Sultan MAHOMED TEJ-WALDIN ordered Tuan HÂJĪ KHATĪB ABDUL LATĪF to write this genealogy for the information of all his descendants who might possess the throne and crown of royalty in the country and provinces of Bruni, the abode of peace; who in their generations might take the inheritance of the royal drums and bells [an emblem] of the country of Johor, the seat of Government; and who might further take as their birthright the royal drums and bells [an emblem] of Menangkĕrbau, *i. e.*, the country Andalas.

Now he who first ruled the country and introduced the religion of Islam and followed the laws of our prophet MAHOMED (the blessed of God, on whom be peace), was His Highness Sultan MAHOMED and his brother Sultan AKHMED: now he begat a daughter by his wife, the sister of the Chinese Raja, whom he had taken from China Batangan: that was the princess who was taken to wife by Sheriff ALI, who came down from the country of Taif.

Moreover that Sheriff ALI became Raja under the name of His Highness Sultan BĒRKAT: it was he who enforced the observance of the laws of the messenger of God (blessed of God on whom be peace), and erected a mosque, and all his Chinese subjects built the stone fort; that Sheriff ALI was descended from the AMĪR of the Faithful HASAN, the grandson of the messenger of God. Now His

Maka Sri Sultan MAHOMED TEJ-WALDIN meritahkan pada tuan HÂJĪ KHATĪB ABDUL LATĪF menuratkan Sĕlĕsĭlah ini sĕpaya dikatahni segĕla anak chuchunia Raja yang mempuniai takhta mahkota karajaan dalam kandang dairah nĕgri Bruni daruscĕlĕm yang turun tamurun yang mengambil pusakaan nobat nagĕra dan gunta alĕmat deri nĕgri Johor Kamĕl-ul-Makĕm dan mengambil lagi pusaka nobat nagara gunta alĕmat deri Menangkĕrbau itu nĕgri Andalas.

Maka adalah yang pertama karajaan di nĕgri dan membawa egĕma Islam dan mengĭkut Shariat nabi kita MAHOMED Sallallahu Allaihi Wasallum. iya itu paduka Sri Sultan MAHOMED dan Sudarania Sultan AKHMED maka beranak sĕorang perampuan dungan istrinia sudara Raja China yang diambil deripada China Batangan putri itulah yang di ambil uleh Sheriff ALI yang turun deri nĕgri Taif.

Maka Sheriff ALI itulah Karajaan di nama-i akan diya paduka Sri Sultan BĒRKAT iyalah yang mengraskan Shariat rasĕl Sallallahu Allaihi Wasallum dan berbuat masjid dan segĕla ryto China berbuat Kota Batu; tuan Sheriff ALI itu panchĭr Sĕlĕsĭlah deripada AMĪR al muminin HASAN chuchu rasĕl Allah. Maka paduka Sri Sultan BĒRKAT itu beranakan paduka Sri Sultan SULEIMAN, dan SULEIMAN be-

Highness Sultan BĒRKAT begat His Highness Sultan SULEIMAN, and SULEIMAN begat His Highness Sultan BULKEIAH, the Raja who conquered the country of Soolook and the country of Seludong,* the name of the Raja of which was Datoh GAMBANG: and Sultan BULKEIAH begat His Highness Sultan ABDUL KAHAR who was named Mĕrhoun Krâmat [Saint], and he begat His Highness Sultan SAIF-UL-REJAL, who begat His Highness Sultan SHAH BRUNI. After him his brother reigned, His Highness Sultan HASAN, he who was called the Mĕrhoun di Tanjong [of the cape], of the children and grandchildren of His Highness those succeeded to the throne in Bruni who were of the best character. It was Sultan HASAN who upon the throne of his kingdom strictly followed the rule of Sultan MAHKOTA ALAM of the country of Achin, and it was that Sultan HASAN who begat Sultan ABDUL JALIL-UL-AKBAR, who was called the Mĕrhoun Tuah [old]. He begat Sultan ABDUL JALIL-UL-JEBAR, who begat the Prince Bĕndahâra ŪNTONG, who begat the Prince Tĕmĕng-gong MUMIN AMĪR-UL-RETHAR, also of the country of Bruni.

Afterwards the brother of Mĕrhoun Tuah was invested with the royalty and named His Highness Sultan MAHOMET ALI; he was the great grandfather of His Highness Sultan MAHOMED ALI-UDDIN, who is now reigning in the country of Bruni.

ranakkan Sri Sultan BULKEIAH raja yang mengalahkan nĕgri Soolook dan mengalahkan nĕgri Seludong nama rajania Datoh GAMBAN, dan Sultan BULKEIAH beranakkan paduka Sri Sultan ABDUL KAHAR yang dinamai Mĕrhoun Krâmat beranakkan paduka Sri Sultan SAIF-UL-REJAL beranakkan paduka Sri Sultan SHAH BRUNI: kumdian sudarania pula karajaan paduka Sri Sultan HASAN iyalah Mĕrhoun di Tanjong, maka anak chuchu baginda itulah mengambil karajaan dalam nĕgri Bruni ini mana yang baik becharania Sultan HASAN itulah yang kras diatas takhta karajaannya mengikut prentah Sultan MAHKOTA ALAM yang di nĕgri Achin, dan Sultan HASAN itu yang beranakkan Sultan ABDUL JALIL-UL-AKBAR yang dinamai Mĕrhoun Tuah beranakkan Sri Sultan ABDUL JALIL-UL-JEBAR beranakkan pengĭran Bĕndaharâ ŪNTONG beranakkan pengĭran Tĕmĕng-gong MUMIN AMĪR-UL-RETHAR dalam nĕgri Bruni juga.

Kumdian Sudarania Mĕrhoun Tuah di nobatkan karajaan bernama paduka Sri Sultan MAHOMET ALI iyalah ninek paduka Sri Sultan MAHOMED ALI-UDDIN yang karajaan sekarang ini di nĕgri Bruni.

* The name of the city now called Manila.

Then that king died, and after a time his brother's son reigned under the name of His Highness Sultan MUADDIN: after him his nephew reigned, His Highness Sultan NASR-ADDIN, and after him his son ruled, Sultan MAHOMET ALI, under the name of His Highness KEMAL-ADDIN, and he gave the sovereignty to the grandson of his brother, who is reigning at this time under the name of His Highness Sultan MOHAMED ALI-UDDIN. His son afterwards succeeded, named His Highness Sultan OMAR ALI SAIF-UDDIN and next he gave the kingdom to his son, His Highness Sultan MAHOMED TEJ-WALDIN. After him he gave the kingdom to his son His Highness Sultan MAHOMED JEMAL-UL-ALAM.

When that prince was dead the kingdom reverted to His Highness' royal father Sultan MAHOMED TEJ-WALDIN. God knows if it is so.

After that I [the writer] do not know all his descendants who will become Rajas.

In the year of the prophet (blessed of God on whom be peace) one thousand two hundred and twenty-one in the year Dal on the 2nd day of the month Thul-hajah on the day Arbâa Sânat, [Wednesday] 1221.

Maka wafallah baginda itu maka kundang karajaan pula anak sudarania bernama paduka Sri Sultan MUADDIN kundang karajaan anak sudarania paduka Sri Sultan NASR-ADDIN, kundang karajaan anak Sultan MAHOMET ALI bernama paduka Sri Sultan KEMAL-ADDIN iyalah membrikan karajaannia kapada anak chuchu sudarania iyala karajaan pada masa ini bernama paduka Sri Sultan MOHAMED ALI-UDDIN kundang di rajakan pula anaknia paduka Sri Sultan OMAR ALI SAIF-UDDIN kundang dibrikan pula karajaannia itu kapada anaknia paduka Sri Sultan MAHOMED TEJ-WALDIN kundang di brikan pula karajaannia itu kapada anaknia paduka Sri Sultan MAHOMED JEMAL-UL-ALAM.

Maka telah wafallah baginda itu maka kĕmbali pula karajaannia itu kapada ayahanda baginda itu paduka Sri Sultan MAHOMED TEJ-WALDIN Wallahu Ahlum.

Kundang deri itu tiadalah hamba mengtahui akan segĕla anak chuchunia yang akan jadi Raja pada hejrat nabi Sallallahu Allaihi Wasallum seribu dua ratoos duapuluh satu pada tahun Dal pada dua hari bulan Thul-hajah pada hari Arbâa Sânat, 1221.